THE HUGUENOTS IN BRISTOL

RONALD MAYO

Mrs. GAUTIER,

Wife of the Rev. Mr. GAUTIER, Minister to the French Church at Bristol,

BEGS Leave to inform the Public, particularly the Gentry residing in that City, and neighbouring Country, that she shall in the Beginning of April next, OPEN

A BOARDING and DAY-SCHOOL,

For the Instruction of Young Ladies in the French Language, in its utmost Purity and Perfection; for which Purpose, she has taken a very convenient House, in a pleasant and healthy Situation, in the New Square, near Stokes-Crost; where young Ladies may also be instructed in every other Branch of polite Education, such as sine NEEDLE-WORK, WRITING, DANCING, MUSICK, &c. proper Assistants being engaged for that Purpose: At the same Time the greatest Care will be taken to cultivate their Minds with the Principles of true Religion and Virtue; and that the Reading of their own Language may not be neglected, a Portion of Time will be set apart for that Purpose; when due Regard will be had to the Ladies Reading with proper Accent, and Emphass.

If this Undertaking should meet with Encouragement, there will be no Pains spared to render it deserving of the Publick's Favour.

BRISTOL BRANCH OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION LOCAL HISTORY PAMPHLETS

Hon. General Editor: PATRICK McGRATH

Assistant General Editor: PETER HARRIS

The Huguenots in Bristol is the sixty-first pamphlet to be published by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association. It is issued with special reference to the Tercentenary Commemoration of the repeal on 18 October 1685 of the toleration granted to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and the consequent flight of large numbers of Huguenots to other countries, including England. Bristol was one of the places which gave a home to the refugees who in due course made important contributions to their adopted city.

Dr Ronald Mayo has the degree of Docteur-ès-Lettres from the University of Lille for a thesis which he wrote on the Bristol Huguenots and he is a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques. He wishes to dedicate this work to Mme Jeanne Rees of the French Institute, South Kensington, who inspired his interest in the subject.

The Branch wished to thank a number of people who have helped with the production of this pamphlet. Mr Hawkins, Secretary of the Bristol Municipal Charities, made special arrangements to assist in the photographing of the Peloquin portraits in the offices of the Bristol Municipal Charities and also supplied a photograph of the building which formerly stood on the site of the offices and which was used as a Chapel by the Huguenots. Mr Langley made arrangements for the photographing of the advertisement by Mrs Gautier which appeared in the Felix Farley's Bristol Journal on 20 March 1762 and which is used on the front cover. Mr Bryan Little gave helpful advice concerning the illustrations. Miss Mary Williams assisted the production in a number of ways and Mr Gordon Kelsey took the photographs.

To mark twenty five years of publications, the Branch has re-opened its Pamphlet Appeal Fund which is designed to put the work on a sound financial basis. Readers are invited to contribute. All donations, however small, will be of help. They should be sent to Peter Harris, 74 Bell Barn Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol 9. Cheques should be made payable to the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association Appeal Fund.

A list of pamphlets in print is given on the inside back cover. Pamphlets may be obtained from most Bristol booksellers, from the Porter's Lodge in the Wills' Memorial Building, from the shop in the City Museum and direct from Peter Harris.

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THE HUGUENOTS IN BRISTOL

The story of the Bristol Huguenots is as relevant today as it ever was because it is the story of an immigration attended by problems of coexistence and integration. As in more recent cases this immigration had its bitter opponents. In 1693, the Member of Parliament for Bristol, an old Jacobite named Sir John Knight, made a speech at Westminster opposing a Bill designed to confer British nationality collectively on all Protestant refugees from the Continent. Among other things he said 'There is no entertaining the courts of St. James and Whitehall, the palaces of our heriditary kings for the great noise and croaking of the Froglanders' and, warming to his peroration, he prayed 'that the Sergeant be commanded to open the doors and let us first kick the Bill out of the House, then the foreigners out of the kingdom'.¹

To answer the question of why the Huguenots left France we must go back first to the year 1598 when, after more than thirty years of bloody warfare between Catholics and the followers of the young Reformed Religion, Henry IV, himself a former Protestant and anxious to restore peace to his kingdom, issued the Edict of Nantes which regularised the legal position of the Reformed Church and recognised the rights of its members as citizens.

When however his grandson Louis XIV, the Sun King, assumed personal control of the government of France in 1661, His 'Majesté Très Catholique' left no doubt in the minds of his subjects that he was determined to eradicate all forms of heresy from his kingdom and to compel the followers of the Reformed Religion to return to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. By means of an almost uninterrupted series of measures he ensured that the clauses of his grandfather's Edict were interpreted in a purely restrictive manner in complete opposition to the

^{1.} John Taylor, 'Notes on Bristol Huguenots', Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, iii, p. 358.

spirit of toleration in which they were conceived. The Protestants' public activities as well as their religious practices were restricted to the point of becoming eventually non-existent. At the same time the King strove after conversions to the Catholic faith, even buying them with a fund managed by the ex-Protestant Pellisson.

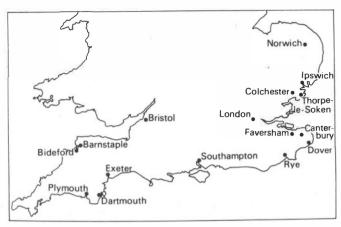
March 1681 saw the beginning of the *dragonnades*, a new method of 'conversion' by which it was hoped physical brutality would succeed where legal methods had failed. It was already customary to billet the dragoons on householders who had not paid their taxes, but now they were to be lodged in the homes of Protestants. The soldiers were encouraged to, or at least not restrained from, committing acts of cruelty designed to make their hosts' lives intolerable. The mere threat to a village of a visit from the dragoons was enough to cause a flood of 'conversions' overnight.

Finally, on 18 October 1685, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. The effect of this action was to demolish the few remaining chapels, to banish all pastors on pain of being sent as slaves to row in the galleys, to bring up every child in the Catholic faith and to forbid everyone, with the exception of the pastors, to leave France.

The first contingent of refugees to come to Bristol arrived in December 1681 as a direct result of the first *dragonnade* carried out in Poitou earlier that year by Louvois' 'jack-booted missionaries' at the instigation of Marillac, governor of that province. In Poitou alone there were recorded 38,000 forced conversions for the period ending July 1682.² In Aunis and Saintonge³ the method employed was the same and the results were similar.

The places of origin of most of the Bristol Huguenots have been identified. Of the 230 refugees whose place of origin is known, 184 or 80% came from that part of Western France occupied by the ancient provinces of Aunis, Saintonge and Poitou and, more specifically, from two areas, the Niort plain and the seaboard stretching from La Rochelle southwards to Mortagne-sur-Gironde.

- 2. J. Orcibal Louis XIV et les Protestants (Paris, 1951), p. 71.
- 3. These ancient French provinces, in which La Rochelle is the principal town, now compose the departments of Charente Maritime and Deux-Sèvres.
- Charles E. Lart, ed. Registers of the French Churches of Bristol, Stonehouse, Plymouth and Thorpe-le-Soken: Huguenot Society's Publications XX, (London 1912).



Places with Huguenot churches in 1700 from *The Huguenots* by Alison Grant and Ronald Mayo



France's ancient provinces from *The Huguenots* by Alison Grant and Ronald Mayo

The Huguenots who lived on the Niort plain, a part of France still Protestant, were necessarily farmers and farm-labourers, but they were shepherds and skilled weavers too. In every house was a loom which kept them busy in the winter months. The Huguenots of the plain were craftsmen of the soil and ruggedly independent.

Their co-religionists from the coasts of Aunis and Saintonge were less homogeneous socially and professionally than the farmer-weavers of the Niort plain. The population embraced not only the wealthy merchants of La Rochelle but also the sailors, fishermen, salters and other manual workers of the towns and villages of the coasts. When one stands today in La Rochelle, that bright city of arcades and ancient splendour, it is still easy to picture the life of the Huguenot merchant princes. As one writer put it

Everything here bespeaks the sea- the grim towers guarding the harbour entrance, the houses of the ship-owners nestling behind the ramparts, the sumptuous dwellings, visible reminders of the wealth once enjoyed by the bourgeois traders, and the old harbour coming to life with every tide and carrying the tang of seaweed into the heart of the ancient city.

The sea made La Rochelle rich. In its harbour ships took on cargoes of wine and salt consigned to northern ports and brought back salted meat and fish and bales of linen and woollen cloth from the Low Countries. The siege of 1628, disastrous as it was, put but a temporary check to the port's expansion, and very soon dynasties of ship-owners, Huguenots for the greater part, were forming powerful combines, fitting out vessels and signing on crews from the coasts of Vendée and Saintonge to fish the high seas and the water off Newfoundland and forging links with the American continent. Fleets from the West Indies loaded with sugar, cocoa, vanilla and coffee, vessels from the coast of Africa bearing rubber and gold dust, docked alongside the ships from the north. In view of such wealth and prosperity it was to be expected that the merchants Etienne Peloquin, Pierre Jay, Daniel Goizin, Louis

A. Lièvre, Histoire des Protestants et des Eglises Réformées du Poitou, (Paris 1856), II p. 152.

^{6.} L. Papy, Aunis et Saintonge, (Paris 1961), p. 118 (translated by author).

^{7.} L. Papy and H. Enjalbert, Visages de l'Aunis, de la Saintonge, de l'Angoumois (Paris 1952), (Chap. I, Geographie Humaine), pp. 23, 24.

Moreau and David Challes, all from La Rochelle, should compose at Bristol a social élite clearly distinguishable from the main body of refugees.

South of La Rochelle and facing the Isle of Oléron lies the maritime frontier created by Louis XIV's minister Colbert and the engineer Vauban. Here the ancient fortresses of Rochefort, Moèze and Soublise were the homes of Huguenot sailors. Further south we come to the estuary of the Seudre, a curious place where the old saltmarshes have long been transformed into oyster-beds. The technique of maturing the oysters in the salt-beds goes back to the seventeenth century and our Huguenots from Marennes and La Tremblade practised ostreiculture there as well as normal fishing. Marennes was famous for its oysters then as it is today, and these were a feature of Louis XIV's table. When the dragoons were harassing the Huguenots round Marennes, his minister Seignelay kept a wary eye open lest some revengeful Protestant should slip poison into the molluscs intended for the royal table.8

Seven or eight miles south of the Seudre estuary and parallel to it lies the southern coast of Saintonge which looks out over the Gironde to the Pointe de Grave. Since the Second World War this coast has become a great holiday centre but in the seventeenth century it was the home of hardy seamen, pilots and fishermen. Because of its rocky nature, it provided a hiding-place for the victims of religious persecution. Evidence of this can be seen today. If we leave the coast road a few hundred yards east of Meschers and descend the cliff by a narrow path, we arrive at a limestone ledge a few feet above the sea. Before us are one or two carrelets or simple derricks built in the sea from which the fishermen lower their square nets. Behind us are the grottoes of Meschers, natural caverns enlarged by man. Some of these, in the upper part of the cliff face, have been made into smart little summer dwellings with painted shutters and balconies embellished with flowers. Others, which we can enter from our rocky ledge, have been left in their natural state. These are the caves which in the worst years of the persecution gave shelter to Huguenots. fugitives like Giles Couturier whose home, according to the Bristol register, had been 'les Roches de Méché'.

^{8.} Papy, op. cit. p. 172.

The escape routes used by the Huguenots who reached Bristol were as varied as the circumstances and times of their flight. Some fugitives, and Bristol's first French pastor, Alexandre Descairac, is among them, found it expedient to take the eastern route via Switzerland, Germany, Holland and London. A greater number got away north by way of Normandy and the Channel Islands. A guide named Pierre Michaud helped many Huguenots to escape by this route by organising an underground line like the one that got Allied airmen home during World War II.

The route par excellence for Bristol was the western one. The roads and paths leading to and through the marshy approaches of the Saintonge coast were many. The most frequented route to the west coast was the road which runs from Niort to La Rochelle. This too was the most watched and fraught with the greatest danger. Daniel Bonnet who lived on the Niort plain at Thorigny used it to escape to Bristol. The account preserved in the Bonnett family of their ancestor's escape relates that Daniel and his wife set out for the coast - some 45 or 50 miles distant - with their two small children concealed in the panniers of a donkey and covered with fresh vegetables. The mother impressed upon the children the necessity to keep quiet whatever happened and they had hardly begun their journey when they were overtaken by a dragoon who demanded what was in the panniers. The mother replied: 'Fresh vegetables for the market'. As if doubting her word the trooper came up to the side of the donkey and thrust his sword into the nearer pannier exclaiming as he rode on, 'Bon voyage, mes amis!' The agony of the parents can be imagined and, as soon as the soldier was out of sight, the pannier was opened and the child was found to have been wounded in the calf but had made no sound.10

The Register of the French Church is an excellent indicator of the waves of immigration that took place. Although it can tell us little about the years before 1687 when the church was founded, it tells us much about the years of heavy immigration, 1687, 1699 and 1702. For the period 1687–1705 there appear, in all, the names of 324 families and that fact gives us at least a minimum figure when trying to assess the numerical importance of the Bristol refuge.

^{9.} Maillard, 'Les Routes de l'Exile', Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, xlix, p. 289.

Baird, Histoire des Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique (Traduction de de Meyer & Richemond, Toulouse 1886 p. 314), translated into English by the author.

As their ship brought them up the Avon Gorge past St. Vincent's Rock, the sight which met the eyes of the members of that first contingent of Huguenots in 1681 was that of a medieval city – the vast urban expansion of the eighteenth century was yet to come – with the skyline cut by the spires and towers of seventeen parish churches. Macaulay¹¹ tells us that these churches, a few of them

of eminent beauty, rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes built upon vaults of no great solidity. If a coach or cart entered those alleys there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries.

When the Huguenots' ship tied up at St. Augustine's Back, the scene was the one described in Treasure Island with ships of all nationalities and sizes, with forests of masts and spars where the men in the rigging looked no bigger than flies, with bales piled on the quay and trucks were pushed between groups of merchants talking trade. They heard the shouts and oaths uttered in foreign tongues by sunburnt sailors with rings in their ears; they breathed the mingled odours of tar and salt. On the quay opposite they saw the tall dwellings of the merchants and the high tower of St. Stephen's church. Opposite too lay the Marsh, a wide expanse of waste ground bounded on three sides by quays and ship-yards and used by the inhabitants of Bristol as a parade ground, sports field and cemetery. In the early years of the eighteenth century, however, the Marsh was to become the rich and elegant part of the city. Queen Square was to have magnificent houses, green lawns and broad avenues where the wives and daughters of the merchants whose riches had made this luxury possible would walk or be carried in sedan chairs by liveried servants. There would be seen fine coaches some of them owned by the children and grandchildren of Louis Casamajor, Pierre Laroche, Daniel Goizin, David Challes and Etienne Peloquin.

Wherein lay the attraction of Bristol for the Huguenot refugees? There were other centres of refuge in the west country, notably Plymouth, Exeter, Barnstaple and Bideford, but it was the econo-

^{11.} History of England, (London 1859), I. p. 349.

mic importance of the city which attracted the Huguenot merchants, weavers and seamen. Defoe says it was the biggest, the richest and best commercial port in the kingdom after London.¹² Bristol was, for all its antique appearance, a great urban centre, the second city of the realm for size with a population of between twenty and thirty thousand. Norwich was the only other provincial centre able to compete in this respect. Bristol's importance came, of course, from its overseas trade,13 but also from its complete independence from London as an economic unit, bringing American goods to its own port and disposing of them in the west through its own carriers and agents. Bristol was also the biggest source of capital in the west as speculation and venturing were in the very air. Every little shopkeeper, once he had put aside the money for his daughter's dowry, looked for some way of investing his profits in the huge opportunities which were opening up overseas. This intense activity was a magnet for the Huguenot refugees. Previous business ties and future prospects explain the presence of the merchants from La Rochelle while the varied and manifold occupations of the city offered the more humble weavers and sailors the opportunity of practising honestly the trades they had followed in France. They all found at Bristol a rapidly expanding port, already made prosperous by its tobacco trade and about to become more wealthy still by importing sugar and engaging in the slave trade. Bristol was governed by an oligarchy of rich merchants who controlled every important aspects of its life. Members of the exclusvie Merchant Venturers Society were also, in many cases, members of the self-electing Common Council and it was the exception rather than the rule if the Master of the Merchant Venturers of one year was not the Lord Mayor the ensuing one, or vice versa. Both Pepys14 and Evelyn15 have described the sumptuous train de vie of the Bristol merchants. As for the occupations of their fellow citizens, the Apprentice Register¹⁶ for 1681 give an idea of the relative importance of the various trades followed by them in the year that the Huguenot refugees began to arrive. Men's preoccupation with foreign trade

^{12.} Daniel Defoe, Tour through England and Wales, (1927 ed.) ii, p. 435.

^{13.} McGrath: Merchants and Merchandise in 17th Century Bristol (Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. xix, 1955) passim.

^{14.} Diary (Warne ed.), p. 520.

^{15.} Diary Gibbings, London 1895), p. 229.

^{16.} Bristol Record Office, (subsequently quoted as B.R.O.), 04353(1).

is evident from the fact that in that year 20 boys were apprenticed to merchants and 18 to ship-owners. Shoemakers claimed 18, silkweavers 11, serge-weavers 9 and each of the following trades acquired 7 new recruits – soapboilers, wine merchants, grocers, tilers and plasterers, coopers and ship's carpenters.

Let us now examine the welcome which the Huguenots received and see what measures were taken to alleviate their lot. Nationally, Charles II issued a brief or letter to be read in all Anglican churches appealing for funds for those of the refugees who were destitute. At the same time he granted to the immigrants free Letters of Denization which conferred a restricted form of British nationality. It is of more interest to us to know how the Bristol Huguenots fared and what kind of welcome awaited them in their city of adoption. Here we must distinguish the official and private attitudes.

The Corporation's reaction to the situation was the one to be expected from any seventeenth century local authority administering the Poor Law. Like the parish officials who would hustle pregnant women to their boundaries lest mother and child should become a charge on local funds, the Bristol Common Council was concerned mainly with knowing where the Huguenots were to be sent and where the money was coming from to feed them so long as they remained in the city. On 10 December 1681 the Mayor, Thomas Earle, sent the following letter to Secretary Jenkins in London

Right Honourable,

Under the notion of French Protestants, here are many of that nation, of men, women and children, arrived to this city who are people generally of the meanest rank and need present relief: And many more we understand are coming from several parts of France. The great number and their poverty renders us utterly at a loss how to dispose of them, having more of our own people than we can keep at work with our public stocks; And the moneys gathered by Brief is ordered to be remitted to London. By which we are deprived of administering them sufficient to their present necessities. We therefore leave it to your consideration to give us full directions how to dispose of these French already come, and those that may hereafter arrive, and that the moneys gathered here may be employed for their present subsistence and to carry them to such places as His Majesty shall

appoint for their future abode. And you will infinitely oblige Your most obedient servants,

Tho: Earle Mayor, Robert Cann, John Hickes, Ralph Olliffe, Rich: Hart.¹⁷

Apparently receiving no reply to their letter, the Council sent another urgent message to London.

Bristol 2nd January 1681¹⁸

Right Honourable,

... This post we have made an humble request to the Lord Bishop of London to intercede for us to His Majesty that the third part of the fines that shall be levied upon Dissenters for coming to Conventicles might by His Majesty's Grace and Bounty be applied to the relief of the Poor French Protestants now with us. We hope your Honour will find motive enough from the charity requisite for these persons, the great burthen they are likely to be unto us, and the little benefit that will accrue to His Majesty by these casual revenues: To give us your aid in that our humble petition And that you will please to pardon the trouble given you by, Right Honourable, Your Honour's most faithful and most obliged servants,

Tho: Earle Mayor, Robert Cann, Robert Yeamans, Ralph Olliffe, Richard Crumpe.¹⁹

I cannot say whether this second letter in which the Mayor proposed robbing Peter to pay Paul received an answer or met the same fate as the previous one, but in the months which followed its dispatch various small sums totalling, according to the Mayor's Audit, ²⁰ £42 10s were paid to the Poor French Portestants out of public funds by order of the Mayor and Alderman.

The local heads of the Anglican Church showed a more Christian attitude. We shall see later how the Bishop of Bristol furthered the refugees' cause, but I must mention here Bishop Ken of the neighbouring diocese of Bath and Wells under whose care the refugees living in outlying parts of Bristol came. He sent a special

- 17. Public Record Office: S.P. D. Charles II, 29/417.
- 18. The Gregorian Calendar was not adopted in Britain until 1752 when there was calculated to be 11 days difference between the two Styles.
- 19. P.R.O. S.P. Dom. Charles II 29/418.
- 20. B.R.O., 04026(50), p. 59.

letter to all his clergy urging them to 'stir up all under your care to contribute freely and cheerfully to the relief of these distressed Christians and to do it with as well-timed expedition as you can'.²¹

Just as warm was the compassion aroused in the hearts of Nonconformists in Bristol who had not had the opportunity of contributing to the Royal Bounty collections made only in Anglican churches. It appears that all denominations had their own relief fund. Indeed, it is not for nothing that Bristol has been called a city of churches and charitable institutions. Of special interest is a document headed 'A List of the French Protestants living in Bristol at present being in Want'. This list was drawn up by the sick visitors appointed by the Society of Friends. The three entries which follow are typical of the score contained in the list.

PETER LUCAS 32 years of age, his wife of the same age with 2 children under five years. He is a weaver being in great want, being not able to get enough for to maintain his family. Living without Lawfordsgate 10s.

JACOB ANGELIER an honest man being in a sad condition having lost an eye and likely to lose the other. His wife a very sickly woman being sick now with two daughters. Both of 40 years of age living in Hallyers Lane at the sign of the Golden Hart. 15s.

JOSEPH BRUGIERE a very honest man of a good family stricken with a palsy. Living in Wine Street. Very poor. 12s.

On 29 May 1687 the Huguenots of Bristol were able to found their own church. This was mainly due to the interest and help of Bishop Trelawny of Bristol who headed an appeal for funds to pay the stipends of the two pastors Alexandre Descairac and Jérémie Tinel. Trelawny wrote

Whereas we have been informed by Mr. Descairac and Mr. Tinel two French Protestant Ministers that there are inhabiting in this city many persons forced out of their country by the late severities in France against those of the Reformed Religion who are very desirous to enjoy the benefit of our public prayers and sermons by a due conformity in all things required by law, but through want of skill in our language are incapable of it in our churches and by reason of their losses unable to maintain

^{21.} Huguenot Society's Proceedings, iii, p. 358 et seq.

^{22.} B.R.O., SF/F1/1, 17 April 1688.

Ministers of their own, We, looking upon this their desire as very reasonable and charitably hoping that, if granted, it will contribute to the real good of their souls and promote and preserve the unity of our Church do earnestly recommend to all well-disposed persons of this city the settling of some certain annual salary for the present support of the above-named Ministers (who before they officiate shall be qualified according to the Act of Uniformity) . . . Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy!²³

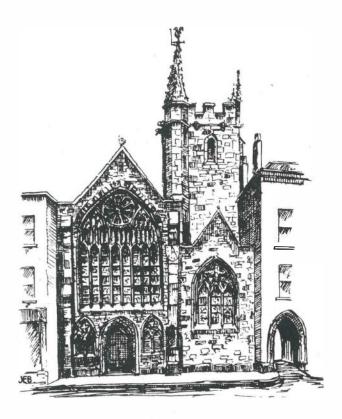
Trelawny persuaded the Corporation of Bristol to place at the disposal of the Huguenots St. Mark's Chapel known now as the Lord Mayor's Chapel which stands in College Green. The Corporation had bought it for its own use at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries. As for the congregation which assembled there for the first time in the afternoon of Sunday 29 May, the register suggests that there were present a minimum of 30 families. It also suggests that, contrary to the tradition still alive in Bristol that the refugees were nearly all seamen, the majority was in fact composed of weavers.

For the first fifteen years of its existence and especially during the last ten years of the century, the French church in Bristol grew and flourished in an extraordinary way. By the year 1702 it had become an important community with several hundreds of members and a minimum of 140 families. The community had advanced socially too. The earliest arrivals had been working people and very poor. By 1702 the congregation had been joined by merchants who, even if they had not succeeded in bringing with them all their wealth, had at least begun to establish themselves in the trading community. Such men were Louis Casamajor, ancestor of Lord Sidmouth, and Stephen Peloquin who, as a mark of the esteem of his fellow merchants, was granted the freedom of Bristol in 1693.²⁴

In 1703 occurred the death of Pastor Descairac as the result of a stroke while in the pulpit. A measure of the respect in which he was held is in the large number of Anglican clergy who attended

^{23.} Bodleian Library, Tanner Ms xxix, f. 32.

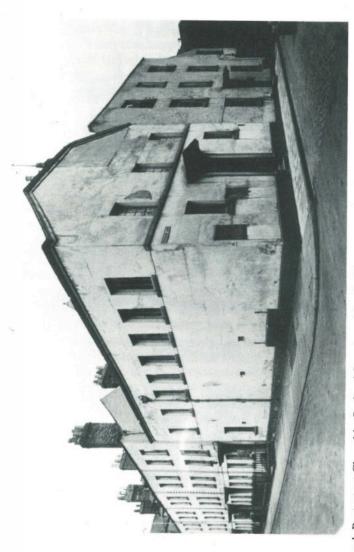
^{24.} B.R.O. 04264(8) Common Council Proceedings, p. 22 September 1693 and 04359(4); Burgess Book, p. 63, 28 September 1693. The Mayor had the privilege of nominating one freeman every year and Peloquin obtained his freedom by nomination of the mayor.



St Mark's Chapel, Bristol, which the Huguenots were allowed to use for their services

his funeral at St. Mark's Chapel. This event marks the start of a decline in the fortunes of the church and in its social influence. Although refugees continued to arrive in fairly large numbers during the War of the Spanish Succession, losses were more numerous. The second generation of Huguenots born in Bristol was driftiing away joined by influential families like the Peloquins who now felt more at home among the fashionable congregations which attended churches like St. Stephens.

In 1720 the Corporation made it known to the members of the ailing French Church that they wanted the Mayor's Chapel back again for their exclusive use. The Huguenot congregation was forced to look elsewhere. Led by the still faithful Louis Casamajor, they purchased a site in nearby Orchard Street where they built their own chapel. Orchard Street Chapel, opened for worship



The French Protestant Chapel in Orchard Street used by the Huguenots after the corporation took over St Mark's Chapel. Later used by the Plymouth Brethren, now demolished and office of Bristol Municipal Charities built upon the site. From photograph in possession of the Bristol Municipal Charities

in 1727, stood for two hundred and ten years until it was demolished to make way for the offices of the Bristol Municipal Charities.

The fresh start made in 1727 did not halt the decline in numbers and the period which ensued was marked by a succession of ephemeral pastorates as well as the defection of some more influential families, among them the Casamajors themselves. We must not forget that this was a time of general decline in religion and when the decline was in a measure halted by the preaching at Bristol by John Wesley, some of the Huguenot families were attracted to the new cult of Methodism.²⁵

By the year 1751 the fortunes of the French church had reached their nadir. Political events were partly responsible for this state of affairs as in that year Parliament once more rejected a Bill (this time inspired by the Huguenot Mayor Jacques Laroche and the future Mayor David Peloquin) for the collective naturalisation of immigrant Protestants.

The final phase in the church's history began in 1758 with the arrival of Pastor Pierre Gautier from Jersey where he had fled from Normandy. His coming brought a measure of stability as he made great efforts to revive the community, using his many contacts in France in an attempt to encourage Huguenot immigration. His efforts met with no great success and, in spite of his own cheerful nature which won for him the friendship and respect of the Bristolians, the thirty or more years of his ministry were marked by disappointment and frustration. Disappointment came from the continual diminution of his flock - they were mostly old people now and death took a steady toll - and frustration with every reduction in his stipend in a period when the financial status of the Anglican clergy was steadily improving. Frustrating, too, was the failure of a grandiose immigration scheme concerted in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years' War with his friend Court de Gebelin at Lausanne and a certain impetuous French pastor called Gibert and known as the Apostle of Saintonge.26 Wearying too were the continual quarrels he had with his senior deacon, the rich, arrogant and half-mad apothecary Isaac Piguenit. The worst of these occurred on Easter Sunday 1763 when Gautier omitted to read in his church the Athanasian Creed. Piguenit abused him and told him he would have to answer for his omission to the Bishop.

^{25.} Pawlyn, Bristol Methodism in John Wesley's Day, (Bristol 1877).

^{26.} Dr. Williams's Library, London: The Gautier Papers (passim).

Then he had 500 handbills printed exposing his own pastor. In a letter to a friend in London²⁷ Gautier says that he counted up to forty of these bills stuck on the walls and posts of King's Square where he lived²⁸ and that others had been pushed through letter-boxes. The effect of this on his wife was such that the doctor had to be fetched at midnight to let the poor lady's blood.

The last entry in the register of the French church is the one recording Gautier's death in 1791. With his passing the religious community ceased virtually to exist. It is true that two more pastors succeeded him but, as the wife of one of them²⁹ writes, the congregation was now composed almost entirely of English people 'fond of French or those wishing to improve'.³⁰ The official dissolution took place in 1814.

The gradual disappearance of the community as a separate entity throughout the eighteenth century is in itself proof of the integration of the Huguenots into the population of Bristol. From the professional point of view the commercial and industrial port of Bristol provided excellent opportunities for immigrants who were nearly all merchants, weavers or mariners, and they seemed set for their rapid absorption by social elements similar to their own. Intellectually, too, they were well matched with their environment for they were essentially a practical people whose culture extended little further than an ability to read the Bible and pious books – a culture shared by the bulk of Bristolians who were acknowledged to be among the least intellectual of Englishmen.

But what was knowledge, could it here succeed When scarcely twenty in the town can read?

the young Chatterton asked bitterly.³¹ The fact too that the Huguenots were Protestants augured well for their rapid integration as the material and moral influence of the Anglican Church was at that time the greatest single unifying force in English society.

In spite of the favourable elements there were certain serious obstacles to the smooth and immediate assimilation of the

- 27. Dated 6 April 1763 to Pastor Beuzeville.
- 28. at No. 11.
- 29. Madame de Sovres.
- Huguenot Society's Quarto Publications, xx, introduction. Letter from MMe. de Soyres to the Royal Commissioners enquiring into Non-Parish Registers.
- 31. Last Will and Testament.

Huguenot immigrants by the native population. These difficulties may be considered as political, social, economic and psychological. Foremost among the political obstacles was the refusal of the British people through their elected representatives at Westminster to grant the refugees quick and easy naturalisation. While a restricted form known as *denization* was available, complete naturalisation was very costly (more than £120 in 1731) and entailed the voting by Parliament of a special Act in each individual case. Then there was the problem of the municipal franchise. Any man who desired freely to exercise his occupation in Bristol had to be a freeman of the city. We have seen that the first Huguenot to receive this privilege was the merchant Stephen Peloquin. It was but gradually, and then only in the lifetime of the second generation, that the majority of the Huguenots acquired this status.

Another barrier was entry to the Society of Merchant Venturers. Without membership of that body it was less easy for a merchant to engage in overseas trade. Stephen Peloquin's application made in 1697 was turned down because, like the Quakers, the Huguenots refused to take an oath on the Bible. Louis Casamajor had to wait until 1725 to be admitted.

The most serious economic obstacles were met by those who were weavers. Gravely affected by Irish competition, the Bristol textile industry was already in decline when the first refugees arrived. In 1697 William III ordered all French refugees living on public charity in England to be settled in Ireland. But for most of the French weavers at Bristol the Promised Land was not Ireland but America, so towards the end of the seventeenth century, numbers of Bristol Huguenot weavers left for the New World where their families can still be traced in the registers of New York and the nearby settlement of New Rochelle.

One of the greatest obstacles to integration had been raised in the early years of the refuge by the Huguenots themselves. This obstacle was a psychological one and arose from the very natural desire to return to France at the earliest possible moment and take up the threads of their previous life in a land freed from religious persecution. But with the failure in 1690 of attempts at an armed return to their homeland, their hopes diminished, finally to die with the signing of the treaty of Ryswick. Their resistance to assimilation by the local population had been expressed from the start by their refusal to abandon their mother tongue and their determination to meet as often as possible to worship and converse

in their own language. Its use was essential also in the church register for, in case of a mass return to France, they would need to prove their identity to reclaim any abandoned property. An accurate record of births, marriages and deaths had to be kept. The Bristol register is a model in this respect, a single entry often containing a detailed genealogy for as many as three generations of the individuals concerned and often of witnesses and godparents as well. Determined in the early days to keep their French identity, the refugees scrupulously avoided mixed marriages, at least as far as those celebrated in their own church were concerned. During the first 13 years of their church's existence, the pastors celebrated 34 marriages and it is not until 1700 that we find evidence of a mixed one. This was between a sea captain Jean Prou and an Englishwoman Elizabeth Braddoway. These exclusive marriages wove so inextricably the bonds of kinship that before long the Huguenots were all virtually members of one big family.

With the turn of the century however, the entries became as bald and uninformative as their English counterparts for the psychological resistance of the immigrants and their descendants was being progressively broken down by the infiltration of Bristolian god-parents, brides and bridegrooms. Furthermore, St. Mark's Chapel, not being a parish church, possessed no burial ground of its own. Had it done so, this would have reinforced the immigrants' sense of identity.

Their psychological resistance found its final expression in the efforts of Pastor Gautier to preserve the French identity of his fading flock. He never succeeded in mastering the English language himself and wrote all his letters, even to his English friends, in French. He was always in very close touch with events in France. His numerous correspondents wrote from London, Paris, Lausanne, Geneva, Normandy, the Channel Islands and America. The most eminent of them exchanged 74 letters with him. This man was Court de Gebelin, for many years secret agent of the French underground Church, 'l'Eglise du désert' and later a member of the Court at Versailles where he was a Royal Censor. He was the friend of Dalembert and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The correspondence which passed between Pierre Gautier and Court de Gebelin should be better known for its historical value.



David Peloquin, merchant, mayor of Bristol 1751

Photograph by Gordon Kelsey of portrait in the office of the British Municipal Charities by kind permission of the Trustees

The Huguenots who came to Bristol were essentially artisans, merchants and seamen whose social reclassification depended on local economic conditions. One could write at length about Bristol's economic development in the eighteenth century, but in its broadest lines this was the picture. With the decline of the textile industry, others like metallurgy, glass-making and pottery were rapidly taking its place. Bristol's overseas trade expanded fourfold in the course of the century³³ the main impetus coming from imports of sugar and from the slave-trade together with the wartime activity of privateering.

The Huguenots participated vigorously in every activity. The city records as well as the church register show that, in spite of difficult times, the weavers who remained made a name for themselves as serge-makers and cloth merchants. The Huguenots were tailors, corsetiers, hatters, and wig-makers, shoemakers, cabinet-makers, goldsmiths and engravers. They were smallholders, bakers, confectioners, butchers, coopers and distillers, ironfounders, brass-founders and glass-makers. They were hauliers of goods on land and transporters of merchandise by sea. Of the 47 seamen mentioned by name in the register 21 were either ships' masters or pilots. One of them commanded a Royal Navy vessel.

The story of Louis Casamajor shows what possibilities were open to a refugee in Bristol provided he had pluck and initiative. In 1704, before he became a freeman, let alone a Merchant Venturer, he had, in company with two English merchants, fitted out and sent to sea his first privateer, the *Expectation*, a vessel of 150 tons carrying 10 guns and a crew of twenty. When Casamajor died in 1743 another Huguenot family was dominating the scene, that of Jacques Laroche. For many years James Laroche and his nephew of the same name traded under the title of 'James Laroche & Co' specialising in the slave-trade with some privateering thrown in. During the War of the Austrian Succession James Laroche was co-partner of at least ten of these marauding vessels. While the Seven Years' War was on, young James Laroche was co-owner of the most notorious of Bristol's slavers, the *Black*

^{33.} Minchinton: *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Bristol Record Society's Publications xx), Bristol, 1957, introduction.

^{34.} Powell, Bristol Privateers and Ships of War, (Bristol 1930), p. 917.

^{35.} ibid. passim.



Mary Ann Peloquin, last survivor of one of the Huguenot families, who died in 1778 and left £19,000 to the corporation for charitable uses.

Photograph by Gordon Kelsey of portrait in the office of the British Municipal Charities by kind permission of the Trustees *Prince*. The log³⁶ shows that the ship made at least eight consecutive voyages between the African Coast and the West Indies. Conditions aboard such ships are well-known but here are two extracts from the log:

8th March. (This was in 1763.) Died, one of the Second Chain. The rest is pretty well. Our women very bad. Many of them with purgings and some falls away not eating. Dead one man, No. 14. (i.e. the fourteenth man to die during the voyage).

5th April. One sick slave endeavours to jump overboard.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the richest of the Huguenots merchants, the Peloquins, the Casamajors, and the Laroches had taken their place at the summit of the social hierarchy. A list published in *Bonner's Bristol Journal* in 1785 shows that in the course of the century only four men had left fortunes greater than the £80,000 left by Stephen Peloquin. In 1778 his daughter Mary Anne Peloquin proved her fidelity to the tradition of a family already well-known for its works of charity. In a will running to 23 pages with 10 codicils she disposed of a fortune the modern equivalent of which would be millions of pounds. £19,000 of the Peloquin estate went to found the Peloquin Charity administered in an office block which, situated at 18, St. Augustine's Parade and known as Peloquin Chambers, stands as a lasting memorial on the spot where the Huguenots first landed.

I should have liked to write much about the political activities of the Bristol Huguenots. Most of them supported Whig policies and distinguished themselves by taking the initiative of introducing in Parliament a Bill for the Collective Naturalization of Protestant Immigrants. This was in 1751. The Bill was dropped only at the last moment after the House had adopted the Committee's report. I should also have liked to describe in detail Pastor Gautier's contribution to the intellectual life of the city and of the way the mentality of the refugees and their descendants slowly evolved to become finally that of the indigenous population for, in spite of the obstacles I have mentioned, complete integration was eventually achieved, thanks largely to the curious mental affinity which, in spite also of different origins and traditions, united the Huguenots with the men and women of Bristol. Like their hosts they were

practical, sturdy, enterprising, hardworking, proud and independent and this mentality expressed itself most readily in the practical spheres of commerce and politics. After a difficult start, the cause of a second emigratiion to Ireland and America, the Huguenots finally merged with the local population. This they undoubtedly enriched by their presence for even today their decendants take a special pride in belonging to what is, to them, a kind of Protestant, nobility.



LIST OF HUGUENOT REFUGEES IN BRISTOL GROUPED ACCORDING TO PLACE OF ORIGIN.

The names in this appendix have been taken from a list drawn up by William and Susan Minet of the London Huguenot Society which appears in the London Huguenot Society's publications no. XX edited by Lart (Register of the French Churches of Bristol, Stonehouse, Plymouth and Thorpe-le-Soken, London, 1912).

The Bristol Register which I consulted at the Public Record Office was sent on 7 March 1838 by the widow of the last French pastor, Madame de Soyres, to the 'Royal Commission to enquire into the State, Custody and Authority of Non-Parochial Registers'.

The list drawn up by the Minets shows very accurately the place of origin of the refugees. I have added to this their occupations as shown in the register and the dates between which the family names appear in the register.

The abbreviations D-S and V are used for the modern departments of Deux-Sèvres and Vienne

List 1

Refugees from Poitou.

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
Beaussais (D-S)	Bricou Pierre	1688-1707	woollen weaver
Boisragon (Commune de	Courra Joseph	1689	woollen worker
Breloux D-S)	Fonteneau Jacques	1699-1737	slater and tiler
Bougouin (Commune de	Berlouin Pierre	1700-1710	cabinet maker
Cavagné et de Fressine D-S)			
Celles-sur-Belle (D-S)	Gaillard Jean	1692-1696	weaver
	Nocquet Abraham	1706-1731	woollen worker
Cherveux (D-S)	Groleau François	1709-1750	Pastor in Bristol
La Groie près de Celles- sur-Belle (D-S)	Deschamps Pierre	1688–1741	woollen worker
Sepvret (D-S)	Lucas Pierre	1687–1747	serge weaver and vinegar maker
Le Grand Breuil (Commune de Rouillé	Gautron Jacques	1700–1701	wool carder

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
Lusigan (V)	Quintard Isaac	1695	woollen worker
Mauzé (D-S)	Pilot Charles	?	serge maker
Melle (D-S)	Raoult Pierre	1690-1717	serge maker
Moncoutant (D-S)	Billy Charles	1696-1722	serge merchant
	Roy Francois	1695-1702	serge maker
Niort (D-S)	Gentil Noel	1698-1738	chamois tanner
	Morin Jean	1687-1729	serge maker
	Morin Pierre	1687-1729	serge maker
	Picard Gedeon	1699-1717	wool carder
Thouars (D-S)	Brion Daniel	1688-1697	serge maker
Torigné (D-S)	Bergeron Jacques	1707-1708	woollen worker
8 - ()	Bonnet Daniel	1693-1699	woollen worker
Vitré (D-S)	Benoist Daniel	1687-1709	woollen worker

List 2

Seamen from Aunis and Saintonge

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
Arvert	Bertrand Jean	1693-1701	seaman
	Bertrand Isaac	1693-1701	seaman
	Mettrivier Pierre	1687-1699	pilot
Châtain près de Marennes	Prévost Isaac	1698-1708	seaman
Fouilloux près d'Arvert	Thibault Etienne	1691-1697	seaman
Ile de Ré	Arnaud Elie	1693-1704	seaman
	Jamain Louis	1688-1703	ship's pilot
La Rochelle	Bourdet Etienne	1699-1705	captain R.N.
	Bouquet Jacob	1709	sailor
	Huertin Guillaume	1694-1700	ship's captain
	Prou Jean	1687-1707	ship's captain
Marennes	Binaud Samuel	1691-1702	ship's captain
	Jardeau David	1691-1699	mariner
	Voyer Francois	1701-1748	ship's captain
	Voyer Pierre	1701-1748	pilot
Médis	Labé Jean	1691-1716	ship's captain
Meschers	Bedoq Isaac	1689-1720	ship's captain
	Bedoq Jacques	1689-1720	seaman
	Bureau Josué	1689-1720	ship's captain
	Coutturier Gilles	1691-1699	sailor
	Guiton Daniel	1693	ship's captain
	Lamoureux André	1689-1695	pilot
Moeze	Dragau Jean	1699-1700	seaman and salter
Mornac	Adrien Noel	1693-1706	captain and pilot
	Bouyneau Michel	1713	seaman

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
	Faitout Aaron	1705-1715	seaman
	Pattureau Pierre	1689-1741	ship's master
	Pilet Pierre	1701-1706	seaman
	Pineau Elie	1692-1697	ship's master
	Richeau Daniel	1702-1723	seaman
	Roy Jean	1695-1706	seaman
	Truchereau Isaac	1689-1706	ship's master
Royan	Aliot Isaac	1691-1702	seaman
	Cochet André	1696-1737	seaman
St. Georges-de-Didonne	Latour Jean	1690-1711	ship's captain
	Princeau Jean	1693-1707	seaman
	Trouvé Jacques	1704	seaman
St. Nazaire-sur-Charente	Morrye Jacques	1699	seaman
St. Palais-sur-Mer	Auriau Jean	1701-1743	mariner
	Gilles Jacques	1700-1704	mariner
	Pineau Jean	1692–1713	ship's master
	Veillon Guillaume	1691-1693	seaman
	Vouillat Jean	1692–1695	ship's pilot
St. Savinien-sur-Charente	Seguin Jacques	1706-1720	seaman
St. Seurin d'Uzet	Renaud Abraham	1689–1706	seaman
	Lajaille Jean	1702	ship's master

List 3
Refugees from Aunis and Saintonge other than seamen and merchants

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
Breuillet près d'Arvert	Charrier Elie	1702–1740	salter (woollen- worker in
Courpignac près de Jonzac Doeil Jonzac La Jarrie	Raoul Daniel Gandouet Francois Bouclé Abraham Daniau Pierre	1690–1717 1688–1707 1698–1721 1689–1711	Bristol) surgeon doctor woollen worker lawyer (woollen- worker in
La Rochelle La Tremblade Mageloup près de Mortagne	Dubois André Prou Exechiel Roy Louis Guillon Jean	1705–1721 1687–1707 1695–1702 1693–1702	Bristol) woollen worker goldsmith woollen worker weaver
Meschers	Amiel Etienne Coutturier Jacques Fumé Daniel Godet David	1696–1697 1691–1699 1688–1696 1693–1719	serge maker farm labourer linen weaver locksmith

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
	Lievre Pierre	1688-1691	serge maker
	Maud Jean	1690-1703	tailor
	Picollet Daniel	1703-1720	woollen weaver
Mirambeau	Faget Jean	1691-1716	woollen worker
Montendre	Bellete Isaac	1722	-
	Montmayeur Isaac	?	landowner in
			France (Sire de l'Aigle)
Musson	Gaillard Daniel	1692-1708	weaver
Pons	Drapeau Thomas	1697-1721	woollen worker
	Piguenit Samuel	1702-1722	woollen worker
	Pillet Isaac	1701-1706	serge maker
Rochefort	Blondeau Daniel	1687-1745	woollen worker
Royan	Laroche Pierre	1700-1750	shoemaker
St. Georges de Didonne	Badeau Elie	1695–1697	farm worker
Ste. Marie (Ile de Ré)	Coppin Josué	1702	woollen worker
St. Palais-sur-Mer	Giroine Jean	1692–1698	serge maker
			(formerly miller)
	Pineau Jean	1692-1697	weaver
St. Savinien-sur-Charente	Boiseau David	1699–1701	chamois tanner
Soubise Soubise	Jaudon Daniel	1699–1700	serge maker
Soucise			(formerly
			salter)
	Jaudon Pierre	1699-1700	serge maker
	Sorlut Jean	1702-1716	woollen worker
Thairé	Cadier Jacques	1692-1745	brandy distiller
	•		and weaver
Vaux-sur-Mer près de St.	Jaulin Guy	1691-1702	tailor
Palais	Veillon Simeon	1691–1693	shoemaker

List 4

Merchants from Aunis and Saintonge

Place of origin	Surname and Christian name	Date in register	Occupation
Doeuil	Gandouet Louis André	1688-1707	formerly lawyer
La Rochelle	Challes David	16991720	
	De La Croix Théodore	1687	
	Goizin Daniel	1687-1747	
	Jay Pierre	1704–1710	
	Moreau Louis	1700-1723	
	Peloquin Etienne	1687-1750	
Mornac	Arnault Daniel	1693-1704	

List 5
Refugees from Provinces other than Poitou, Aunis and Saintonge and from
Switzerland

Province or country	Place of origin	Name	9	Occupation
Béarn	Navarrenx (Basses-P)	Casamajor Louis	1696-1743	merchant
		Casamajor Jean	1696-1743	pastor
Bourgogne		Taby René	1695	cooper
Bretagne	Guingamp	Dulac Henri	1694-1697	clock
C	(Côtes-du-N.)			maker
Comtat	Orange (Vaucluse)	Roure Jean	1693-1735	woollen
Venaissin	,			worker
Dauphiné	Beaumont-les-Valence (Drôme)	Jomas Jacques	1701–1702	hatter
	Chabeuil (Drôme)	Perpoint Pierre	1699–1738	hatter
		Hebray Jean	1706	woollen worker
Foix	Foix (Ariège)	Laborde Etienne	1702	chamois tanner
Guyenne	Bergerac (Dordogne)	Descairac Alex.	1687-1703	pastor
	Bordeaux (Gironde)	Crothaire Pierre (alias Laroche)	1700–1750	merchant
		Lauron Pierre	1695-1717	cooper
	Buzet (Lot-et-Garonne)	Tinel Jérémie	1687-1747	pastor
		Tinel Aaron	1687-1747	student
	Eauze (Gers)	Ricaly Jean	1702-1704	merchant
	Marguéron (Gironde)	Droilhet Jean	1690-1721	merchant
	Montaillac (Lot-et-G).	Bardin Pierre	1692–1701	tailor
	Nérac	Boussac Jean	1687–1723	
		Boussac Samuel	1687–1723	
		Geneste Etienne	1702–1704	tailor
	Tonneins (Lot-et-G)	Magnon Jean	1696–1697	tailor
T1 1	Villeneuve	Latouche Isaac	1692–1705	tailor
Ile-de- France	Paris	Maillair Jean	1695	button maker
Languedoc	Collorges (Gard)	Lafont Pierre	1703–1720	doctor
	Cros (Gard)	Teron Jean	1702	wool carder
	Puylaurens (Tarn)	Benquel Jean	1689-1700	goldsmith
	Sommières (Gard)	Malmazet Pierre	1703	doctor
	Uzès (Gard)	Hugues Simon	1702–1729	woollen worker
Lorraine	Metz (Moselle)	Pudon Pierre	1700-1748	hatter
Normandie	Alençon (Orne)	Genu Pierre	1700-1709	merchant
	Bolbec (Seine-Mar)	Doré Jean	1698–1699	wig maker
	Luneray	Peigné Jacques	1702-1717	woollen
				worker

Province or country	Place of origin	Name		Occupation
Orléanis Picardie	Maintenon (Eure-et-L.) Calais (Pas-de-Calais) Guines		1720 1693–1698 1699–1751	
Viverais	Chalançon (Ardèche)	Duponchel Isaac Riou Etienne	1698–1705 1695–1701	
Suisse	Corcelles (Canton de Neuchâtel)	Vaucher Guillaume	21701	halberdier in the king's

ANALYSIS OF OCCUPATIONS GIVEN IN THE TABLES

Occupation	Number of refugees	Percentage
Textile industry	50	32,2
Sailors	47	31,0
Merchants	15	9,8
Tailors	7	4,7
Doctors	4	2,6
Chamois tanners	3	2,0
Hatters	3	2,0
Huguenot pastors	3	2,0
Goldsmiths	2	1,3
Shoemakers	2	1,3
Coopers	2	1,3
Slaters and Tilers	1	0,6
Cabinet makers	1	0,6
Farm workers	1	0,6
Locksmiths	1	0,6
Landowners	1	0,6
Farm workers	1	0,6
Clock makers	1	0,6
Students	1	0,6
Button makers	1	0,6
Wig makers	1	0,6
Halberdiers	1	0,6
Occupation unknown	3	2,0
Total	152	



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